

000 where they join each other. Each row contains four rooms, of fourteen feet square, and seven feet high, with plank ceiling, and the roof slanting so as to form a loft above the rooms, the highest part of which is eighteen feet from the ground. The backs of the huts form a wall of that height, and opposite the angle the place of the wall was supplied by picketing. In the area were two rooms for stores and provisions. The latitude by observation is 47 degrees, 21 minutes, 47 seconds, and the computed distance from the mouth of the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles." (id 176)

648 **Sioux Threats.** "In the course of the day several Indians came down to partake of our fresh meat; among the rest, three chiefs of the second Mandan village. They inform us that the Sioux on the Missouri above the Cheyenne river, threaten to attack them this winter; that these Sioux are much irritated at the Ricaras for having made peace through our means with the Mandans, and have lately ill-treated three Ricaras who carried the pipe of peace to them, by beating them and taking away their horses. We gave them assurances that we would protect them from all their enemies." (id 176)

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• 167 **Mandan Villages and Tribe.** "The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations—the Mandans, the Ahnahaways and the Minnetarees. The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates, more than that of any other nation, the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village, and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricaras nation, where they formed themselves into two villages, and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two

who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united in one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as the Ricaras; the second, the same number, and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men. 361/167●

Mahshas. "On the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha. It is situated on a high plain at the mouth of the Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways. This nation, whose name indicates that they were "people whose village is on a hill," formerly resided on the Missouri, about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboines and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greatest part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation, in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. They are called by the French, Soulier Noir or Shoe Indians; by the Mandans, Wattasoons, and their whole force is about fifty men. 000

Minnetarees. "On the south side of the same Knife river, half a mile above the Mahaha, and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half mile above this village, is a second of the Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetarees' nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. The accounts which received of the Minnetarees were contradictory. The Mandans say that this people came out of the water to the east, and settled near them in their former establishment, in nine villages; that they were very numerous, and fixed themselves in one village on the southern side of the Missouri. A quarrel about a buffalo divided the nation, of which two bands went into the plains, and were known by the names of the Crow and the Paunch Indians, and the rest moved to their establishment. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now

dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.) 773 243 174

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.) 361 177

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the 167.

•167 smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

101 "The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarces together as Nuweta, Ourselves. A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People**, or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13-14.)

114 Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

161 **Population—Official Reports—Errors.** "The population of the village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

000 kota. It is for us to find traces of the Mandans in South Dakota and farther southeast."

361 To further inquiries by the writer concerning the precise loca-
172 tions of various deserted Mandan and Aricaree villages explored by him, Mr. Steinbreuck responded with the following valuable details:

Mandan and Aricaree Village Sites. "I will answer your questions to the best of my knowledge. The seven villages are strung along the Missouri from about two miles below Apple creek on the east side to about three miles above Burnt creek on the same side. There are remains of Mandan villages on (SW 4, Sec. 14 T. 137 R. 80 NW 4, Sec. 2, T. 139, R. 81, NE 4, Sec. 21, T. 140, R. 81), on the east side, and on (Sec. 13, T. 138, R. 81, Sec. 35, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 27, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 33, T. 140, R. 81), on the west side.

361 "All those villages were found abandoned by Lewis and Clarke.
172 Lewis and Clarke found the Mandans at the bend of the Missouri near Fort Clarke (built later during 1831-33, started by James
• 167 Kipp and finished by Mitchell) a little above that fort in two villages (1804). Catlin found the Mandans there also. The Mandans and the Aricarees lived together. The smallpox epidemic was in 1837, after which the Indians moved to the Fort Berthold reservation, where the Hidatsa had gone several years prior. That is all I can tell you about the Mandans. The story goes that the Mandans and Aricarees lived together near Heart river before Lewis and Clarke's time, about twenty years before Lewis and Clarke. That is, some lived in separate villages, some lived with the Mandans. They had a quarrel and separated. Some went up the Missouri with the Mandans, to Fort Clarke, others moved down the river again to that region below the Cannon-Ball. Later, between 1804 and 1834 the balance of the Aricarees below the Cannon-Ball, became too weak, by wars and disease, to withstand the attacks of the Sioux, moved gradually up the Missouri to join their former allies, the Mandans and their own countrymen with the Mandans. This point was near Fort Clarke.
172 There are many Aricaree villages along the Missouri, more in
361 number, than all the Mandan village sites together. All show short time of occupation. This information is obtained by my own investigation and compared with the reports of early travelers, and especially by the study of specimens found at the differ-

ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old.

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"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

"As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states:

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"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583.

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"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty

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lows (Hidatsa), whose language with very little variation is their own, came many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetaree proper. . . . The inhabitants of these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both, but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses.⁹

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Alexander Henry visited the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1806 as a representative of the Northwest Fur Company. He found the three Hidatsa village groups occupying the same villages as in Lewis and Clark's time. The east-side Mandan, however, had moved to the opposite bank, where they had built a new village near the present town of Deapolis. Concerning the reorganization of the Mandan villages after the smallpox epidemic of 1782 and their migration upstream from the mouth of the Heart River to Painted Woods, where one band of Arikara had moved to join the Awaxawi and one band of Mandan who had formerly lived there, he wrote:

Not many years ago the Pawnees (Arikara) and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages on the Missouri, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Riviere la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies (Hidatsa) barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress telling them they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present.¹⁰

Bradbury and Brackenridge in 1811 found the Mandan and Hidatsa occupying the same sites reported by Henry in 1806.¹¹ The period 1811-32 is not covered by reports of travelers. The writer learned while studying the ethnology of the Mandan and Hidatsa that one group of Mandan, representing the survivors of the west-side Heart River villages, returned south in 1820 and

9. Elliot Coes (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1893), I, 196-200.

10. *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799-1814*, ed. Elliot Coes (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897), XII, 334.

11. John Bradbury, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. V; Brackenridge's *Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

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built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages. 131
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Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.¹² Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.¹³ Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.¹⁴ 175
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After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.¹⁵ He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.¹⁶ Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.¹⁷

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America, in Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII-XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. Chardon's *Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858-1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738-39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XVI [1919]).

796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to
a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770-1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied
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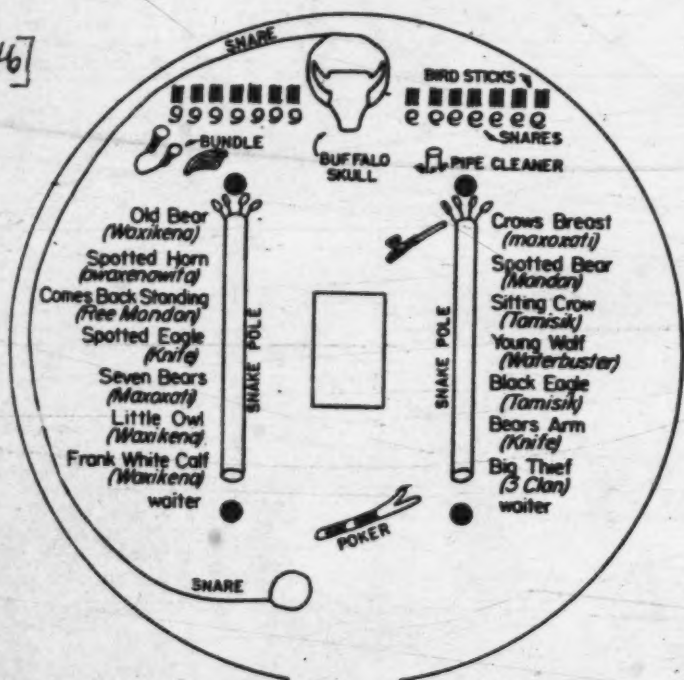


FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: 1, "Both Ends White"; 2, "Speckled"; 3, "Four Stripes"; 4, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

796 they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill
 223 region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occu-
 167 pied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same meth-
 648 ods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say
 that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not
 be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers
 would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a
 short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps
 and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective
 bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Man-
 dan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to re-
 linquish most of their territory and establish a new territory
 which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous
 misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before
 abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived
 as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar
 treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping
 season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory
 to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weap-
 ons to the pit,⁴ a practice observed until trapping was abandoned
 a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to
 abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were estab-
 lished in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved
 from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart
 had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they pre-
 ferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting
 places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake
 Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not
 so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.⁵

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while
 occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as
 Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited
 territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east
 side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either
 purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own

4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the
 introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking
 groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

SECTION I.

HISTORY, LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

ORIGIN: — From the previously mentioned historical sources ¹⁷³
 an attempt will now be made to give a brief account of the
 Mandans as they were seen by travellers. First, however, comes ^{167●}
 the discussion of their origin and migration, for the most part ¹⁷⁴
 theoretical, but supported to some extent by evidence. The
 Mandans had a tradition of coming out of the earth, nothing
 unusual in itself, but in relating this story they also told Maxi-
 milian that they came from the east out of the earth and struck
 the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota. The
 eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan
 stock to which the Mandans, both linguistically and to a con-
 siderable extent in their culture, belong. The Ohio valley would
 seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains
 members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in
 four successive migrations. The earliest group to leave con-
 sisted apparently of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, and of
 these the Mandan were probably a number of years ahead of
 the other tribes. The Mandans have fairly vivid traditions
 of the coming of the Hidatsa many years after the former had
 established fixed villages on the Heart River.

They describe¹ the Hidatsa as a wild wandering people
 whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn,
 pumpkins and other vegetables, and who soon moved up to the
 Knife River. If this tradition has any truth in it, it seems to
 establish the Mandans as the first nation in the successive
 Siouan migrations. The order of migration is placed as follows:—

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago.
3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, Kwapa.
4. Dakota, Assiniboine.

¹ Maximilian: p. 423.

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● 167 In the seventeenth century, the Dakotas, the last migrants, were already in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Part of group three was already on the plains when De Soto made his journey in 1542. If some of the members of group three were already established on the plains in the sixteenth century, the establishment of the Mandans on the Missouri presumably occurred at least as early and probably earlier. Thus the beginning of the westward movement of the tribe may be carried back into the fifteenth century. That the separation occurred thus early is not difficult to believe when one considers the wide divergence of language which has taken place between the different groups. To this evidence of an early establishment on the Missouri River must be added the fact that in the traditions and religion all episodes and beliefs are localized about the region of the Heart River. The gods created the Heart River region first, and there they soon placed the Mandans. Few of the traditions go further back than the Heart River period, and little of the mythology has reference to any other region. Archaeological evidence certainly corroborates this tradition of long occupation, for at the Lincoln site the refuse forms a talus deposit at least three feet in thickness and extending thirty feet from top to bottom. At the site at which investigations were carried on the ground at every point showed potsherds and refuse to a depth of two and one half to three feet. The whole area of the village shows this accumulation, sometimes even deeper, a condition of affairs which only years of occupancy could produce.

It has been shown that the Mandans lived on the Missouri for many years and that previous to this they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley. The next question is how did they make the journey between the new and the old home. Did they cut across direct to the Missouri, as the second group probably did, or did they lead the way for the third group down the Ohio to the Missouri, and thence upward along the river? This question cannot as yet be satisfactorily answered. Catlin claims to have seen remains, similar to those on the Heart River, scattered all along the Missouri from St. Louis up. Clarke describes an ancient fortification near Bon Homme

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906

NQ17 Mandan NQ17

THE MANDANS.

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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it. 174 167 ●

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns. 175 361 [439]

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others. 175

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil- 175 173

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Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology

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the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian."

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The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system.

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Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context.

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SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves.

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177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and 621 the "No" or conservative faction. The basis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

177 Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between themselves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as acculturated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

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Personal Contact and Acculturation

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87-100).

It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

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